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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[1] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[1] The minimum charge is 4½d. a head.

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large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εὐκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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S G 648 426 G 622 661 can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

S G 648 426 G 652 622 The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved [647] by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

S G 648 651 486 G 622 Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently [686] S happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met G when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many [661] cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

S G 648 G 622 661 A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[1] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[1] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S [65] S 234 439 F 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers' fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.